

Thus has the country been led on from fallacy to fallacy, and from fraud to fraud, and as soon as either has been detected, resort has been had, not to defence, not to argument, but to new promises as false as the former. Thus criminal deception has been made the ground of future confidence; and, as fast as one set of promises has been violated, a new set has been held forth, and the country has been, in the names of loyalty and of patriotism, loudly called upon to become again the dupes of those who had before deceived them."—Mr. Fox's Speech, 5th May, 1785.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MINISTERIAL DECEPTION.—The motto to the present number has not been selected so much because of its being so very applicable to the times, as because it is calculated to revive in the minds of those, who are not dead to the powers of recollection, the deceptions by which the fatal Pitt ministry began; the fallacies, the frauds, the big-sounding and hollow promises, wherewith it set out on that career, which has brought us to put the question, whether *we are to remain as we are, or become the slaves of Frenchmen?* Of this ministry, now, after a twenty years trial, the characteristics still are all retained. It has exhausted the country; it has drained away its spirit, and has blasted its reputation; it has perverted good to bad, and has made bad ten thousand times worse; but, still has it lost nothing of its own nature. It was "conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity;" it has been nursed and raised and protected by those means of deceiving and corrupting the people, which first gave it existence; and that people are now justly smarting under the consequences of their perverse credulity and their baseness. Let the light-headed and perfidious multitude that clamoured against the former ministry, and that, instigated by the corrupt and all-corrupting metropolis, called upon their sovereign to exert, to the farthest bounds, his power of controuling the House of Commons; let those, who so loudly howled for "the heaven-born minister," to protect them from an invasion of their property, and to preserve their liberty; let them now tell us, whether their property has been, and is protected, and whether their liberties have remained unimpaired and are in no danger. Where are now the sarcasms, the puns, the insolent exultations of "the heaven-born minister" himself? "The right honourable gentleman" (said he, speaking of Mr. Fox, in the very debate from which the motto is taken) "has contrived to introduce a subject, calculated to afford him an opportunity of gratifying

his passions and resentments, and of giving vent to those violent and splenetic emotions, to which his *present situation* so naturally gives birth; a situation, in which to the torments of baffled hope, of wounded pride and disappointed ambition, is added the mortifying reflection, that, to the improvident and intemperate use he made of his power and influence, while they lasted, he could alone attribute the cause of all those misfortunes, to which he is in the habit so constantly, so pathetically, but so unsuccessfully, to solicit the *compassion of the House*. Feeling, as I do, for the right honourable gentleman, I declare, that I should think it highly unbecoming in me to consider any of his transports, any of those ecstasies of a mind labouring under the aggravated load of disappointment and self-upbraiding, which at present are his lot, as objects of any other emotion in my breast than that of *pity*; certainly not of resentment, nor even of *contempt*." The time, when these saucy taunts were uttered, was that when after the dissolution of parliament at the end of five years, the re-election had filled the House with those new and strange-looking faces, which, as Mr. Burke then observed, no man in respectable life had ever before beheld. It was at the time, when the clamours, the catch-words, the misrepresentations, the falsehoods, of the fund-dealing crew had so blinded and misled the people, in every part of the kingdom, as to induce them to give the minister ample means to carry him through those measures, which led to the establishment of his political power. But, when the giddy people were thus acting; when they saw their work in this prosperous way; when they beheld "the heaven-born" minister and his colleague Dundas, supported by the Rolles, the Bassets, and the Marshams; by the Jenkinsons, the Wedderburns and the Edens; by the Wilberforces, the Thorntons, the Smiths, the Beaufoys and the Hills; and, though last not least, by PAUL BENFIELD and his

trusty crew: when the people were exulting at this the effect of their clamorous folly, little did they imagine to what it would finally lead; little did they, though repeatedly warned of the danger, believe, that the end of all this exultation would be, first unbounded corruption and degradation at home, and next, the most imminent danger from abroad. Little did they believe, that at that time; yea, at that very moment, was beginning, under the loudest professions of purity, under the guise even of acts of parliament for the professed purposes of economy and for the prevention of abuse; little did they believe, that then, even then, was beginning that system, that settled system of speculation, now brought to light by the Tenth Report of the Naval Commissioners. As little did the "heaven-born" minister and his trusty colleague anticipate the final result of their schemes of ambition. When the above-quoted saucy speech was made, they no more imagined that they should live to see the day, when Mr. Fox would be commissioned, by his constituents, to carry to the King an address describing and reprobating the course of their conduct relative to the management of the public money; no more did they imagine this, than their friend and supporter, PAUL BENFIELD, with a million in his purse and with eight members of parliament at his back, imagined that he should live to beg his bread. By the debate reporter, we are told, that, upon the occasion above referred to, there was a *loud laugh* from the Treasury Benches. Does Paul Benfield, who doubtless, joined in that laugh, laugh *now*? Does his friend Mr. Dundas, though become a peer, laugh *now*? Does his other friend, Mr. Pitt, though he has been able to keep his place for twenty long years, laugh *now*? Does the country laugh *now*? Mr. Burke warned them, at the time, that, though they appeared dead to the voice of all other admonishers, calamity would become their teacher, and would instruct them through the means of their feelings. But, even Mr. Burke, with all his prescience, never could have imagined, that the delusion would have continued so long; never could have imagined, that calamity and disgrace would have so long continued to produce no effect as to the opening of the eyes of the people; never could have imagined, that the reign of delusion would have lasted to the days of the Two BULLETINS, and that, at last, it would have been successfully carried on by the William Dundases, the Wags, the Quacks, and the Huskissons: *no* had seen so much of *the* *perverse blindness*

of the people, never could have regarded it as possible, that their minds would, at last, become so perverted and brutified as to become the sport of such men.—To advert to the endeavours that are still employed to deceive the people, with regard to the future prospects of the war, is hardly worth while; or, those who can believe in any of the stories that are now told them about the successes of the Archduke Charles, with 90,000 men at three posts distance from Vienna; about the future exertions and wonderful exploits of the gallant youth, who, as they told us, took such a solemn oath upon the tomb of the Great Frederick, at Potsdam, and whom we know to have accepted of Napoleon's permission to march home by a route marked out for himself and his army; about the warlike attitude of the King of Prussia, who, as they told us, was, a month ago, at the head, actually at the head, of an army of 140,000 men, making through Bohemia by forced marches to attack the Emperor Napoleon; about the operations of the army of Russians, Swedes, and English in the North of Europe: it is hardly worth while to advert to these endeavours to keep up the system of delusion; for those who can be deluded by them, may be, and, by all reasonable men, must be, considered as belonging to that class of animals which are to be instructed only by chastisement, by nothing but mere bodily suffering.—There is, however, one topic, connected with these endeavours at further delusion, upon which it is our duty to speak out; I mean, the censure, nay, the down-right abuse, which the ministerial writers are now heaping, without measure, upon the head of the unfortunate and ill-advised Emperor of Austria; and this their conduct is the more censurable, and, indeed, detestable, as it must now be evident to the whole world, that his misfortunes, his ruin as a great potentate, is to be chiefly ascribed to his having yielded to those amongst his advisers who adopted the precipitate councils of the English cabinet. These ministerial writers were, the public must recollect, clamourously loud against all those, who appeared to doubt of the firmness of the Emperor Francis. They applauded him; oh! how they applauded him, when he was fleeing through his dominions, leaving them a prey to the French! With what delight, with what exultation, did they find that he had sacrificed even his capital to to what *they* called the common cause! He was then "the best of men;" the "father of his people;" a "most beloved sovereign;" a "gallant and magnanimous prince," and every thing else that



37] was good and great. The being the "particular delight of heaven," that, indeed, the Morning Post news-paper reserved for our sovereign and for us; but, every thing, short of that was the Emperor Francis. How, alas! is the tone now changed! He is now, in the language of these papers, these vile and versatile papers (language, however, that I will not quote,) the very reverse of all that he was before. Not a month has passed over our heads since the ministerial papers called upon the ministry, and, perhaps, they had some notion that the call would not be in vain, to prosecute their opponents for ridiculing the sovereigns who were the allies of this country, and particularly for having said that the Emperor Francis was what nobody but themselves had ever called him. And, is he not still our ally? Or, is misfortune, misfortune brought upon him, too, by our councils, to be pleaded as a justification for abusing him?

"Why yes; if satire knows its time and place,

"You still may lash the greatest—in disgrace:

"For merit will, by turns, forsake them all;

"Would you know *when*? Exactly when they *fall*."

These maxims, laid down in the sport of imagination, and lashing baseness by exaggerated statement and inimical advice, are now acted upon by the hirelings of the present day, with as much coolness and as much confidence as a good man acts upon the precepts of the decalogue. Each of them seems, with Satan, to have said: "Evil, be thou henceforth my good;" and to have resolved, like him, to have devoted his mind to the purposes of deception and destruction.

—As to the fact; what was the Emperor Francis to do? He had done all that was in his power, not only for himself, but for *his allies*. "Will Austria hold out to the last?" (said Mr. Fox in his memorable speech quoted in the preceding sheet, page 13)

"No: it is contrary to all experience and history to suppose, as has been argued, that, being engaged to Russia and England, she will be bound to hold out to the last. No country can be obliged, by any treaty, to hold out to its destruction and to lie down under its ruin." So says reason; and so says, too, the public law of Europe. But, what are reason and the unanimous voice of the civilians to the politicians of 'Change Alley? What are the preservation of the last remains of the ancient and venerable House of Austria and the happiness of twenty millions of Austrian subjects in competition with the safety of the treasures of five or six hundred Jews or Jew-like fund dealers? What care the who

sinks, so that they swim? After all, however, these censures, this cowardly abuse, of the Emperor Francis *entirely* without foundation; for, except as to what would have obviously been of no avail, he *did* hold out to the last. He gave up his capital, his revenues, his arsenal, and his means of raising men. He was pursued to the very confines of his dominions, and there, in a last stand, was completely defeated. There was nothing left for him, but submission to the will of the conqueror, or a flight out of his dominions; and, this latter would have answered no good purpose to his allies, because, by such a measure, he would only have left Napoleon to erect another royal or ducal house instead of the House of Austria. By submission, by acceding to the will of Napoleon, and by agreeing to propositions which it would have been useless to reject, he obtained, at least, that on which these same ministerial writers appear yet to set a high value; to wit; the safety of the Emperor Alexander and the remnant of his army.—Whether, in the treaty of peace between Austria and France; or, rather, in the terms, upon which Napoleon shall allow the House of Austria to retain its title and some part of its territory, there will be found any conditional arrangement for the purpose of putting *English* generosity to the test, we have yet to learn. If there should: if the territory upon the Inn, or any part of the Venetian states, or of Corinthia, or Styria, or any thing else, should be given back to Austria, upon the condition that England will give something up to France; if this should be the case, we shall have a fair opportunity of showing how ready *we* are to make sacrifices in "the common cause," and how disinterested we are in our views with regard to wars upon the continent. Now, observe, I do not *recommend* any such sacrifices: I pledge myself to nothing upon the subject: it is our duty to preserve ourselves; but, can we, then, deny, that it was the duty of the Emperor Francis is to preserve himself with a crown upon his head, and with some small remains of power in Europe?—If it be unjust to reproach the Emperor Francis for his submission, it is, if possible, still more *impolitic*; for, the inevitable consequence of such reproaches must be, to excite hatred against us, not only in the dominions of Austria, but, in every part of the world; and, when we affect astonishment at the language, said, in the French bulletins, to have been made use of, with respect to this country, by the Emperor Francis, we, surely, forget the odious comparison which our ministerial papers drew,

with such insolent triumph, between the conduct of *our navy* and of *his army*. A prince and his army are something like man and wife: they will pretty freely find fault with and reproach one another; but, they do not easily digest the interference of third parties, and especially if the lesson proceeds upon a comparison of their faults with that of the virtues of those who interfere. From the very onset of this contest, the papers, well known to speak the sentiments of office, have been dealing their reproaches out against every prince upon the continent, in whom they perceived a backwardness to oppose the French. There has been, in these reproaches, no consideration at all, as to the situation of the parties reproached; no account has been made of their danger; it never having appeared to enter into the minds of those writers, that, when the object was to draw the power of France off from England, the safety, the very existence, of those by whose means the object was to be obtained, was of any importance. In short, like the cock upon his dunghill, they seem to have looked round over the states of Europe, and to have said: “all these were made for us.” If we persist in this presumptuous, this ungrateful, this odious, this dishonourable, this detestable course; if we persist in abusing all those who will not join us, and all those who do join us the moment they fall a sacrifice to that junction, those that are yet standing, will certainly prefer our abuse without destruction to our abuse with destruction; and, in spite of the cheering paragraphs of those choice “young friends,” Messrs. Huskisson and Ward, I cannot help being of opinion, that the king of Prussia will prefer the latter, though we were assured that he had been swearing upon the tomb at Potsdam, and though our “young friends” almost swore, that he was, a month ago, actually upon the march, at the head of an army of one hundred and forty thousand men.

“PERISH COMMERCE.”—This is the title of an article in the *Courier* of the 6th instant, in which an attempt, by way of *last shift*, I suppose, is made to terrify the fundholders and the merchants with the persuasion, that, if the Opposition were to come into power, they would instantly upset the funds, that they would destroy all the manufactories, and that they would give up our ships and our colonies to the Emperor of the French, and that, too, because the monied and commercial influence have been the support of Mr. Pitt.—The words; “perish commerce,” are put into the mouth of Mr. Windham, though every reader must now

know, that they, with their context, “let the constitution live,” which expressed the proper sentiment, that, to preserve the constitution we ought to wish the loss of our commerce; it is well known, and it has been so stated more than once in the House of Commons, that Mr. Windham never used these words; but that they were used by Mr. Hardinge, who, in his place in parliament, owned, or rather claimed, them as his. To this fact, if the reader will add another, and that is, that the words were uttered at the time that Mr. Windham, even supposing him to have spoken them, was in office with Mr. Pitt, he will have tolerably good means of judging of the candour of this tool of the “young friends,” as well as of the sincerity of that alarm for the safety of commerce, which alarm he would fain make us believe, arises, in part at least, from this sentiment having been expressed by Mr. Windham.—After quoting, or rather garbling, several passages in the Register and one in the Morning Chronicle, relating to the funding and commercial influence of the nation, and more especially to the dangerous predominance of that influence over every other, over the spirit of the people as well as over the legal and constitutional prerogatives of the crown; but, at the same time, making such an arrangement of, and giving such a turn to, these passages as to make them convey a personal censure upon, and a personal hatred of, all monied and all commercial men; after this effort of candour, the writer proceeds as follows: “Such are the sentiments, the views, and the expectations, of the two journals of the two party branches, which, united, make the coalition. Though disagreeing on so many points, on the subversion of the commercial system, on the ruin of commercial men, they are most cordially of opinion, for no other reason, than, that Mr. Pitt having successfully cherished that system and these men, who in their turn support him, both must be swept away, that the road to power may be made accessible for the Opposition. It is for the King and the Country to consider whether an Opposition having such designs should be entrusted with any degree of power, even with the privilege of sitting in Parliament. To nothing is this nation so much indebted for its greatness as to its commercial system. Every commercial nation in the world has been powerful as well as rich. There never was a commercial nation in the world the twentieth part so powerful or so rich as England now is; and here ever was one the twentieth part

“so formidable as a military state. In our navy we have more than 100,000 of the bravest, of the most skilful, of the best troops in the world; they are the bulwark of this country; but *without the reprobated commercial system that gallant race of men would soon be extinct*. It is for the King and the Country to consider whether they will give the reins of Government to a party whose first object avowedly is to destroy that system, for the purpose of crippling a political rival.”—Of the *tolerance* and the *truth* of the direct assertions, here made, nothing needs be said; but, there is one opinion, upon which I cannot refrain from offering a remark or two. And, first of all, who has said, that *commerce* was injurious to this country? I have always said, that, without commerce, and particularly *commercial navigation*, that this island could not *possibly* continue to be great; that it could not *possibly* retain its consequence amongst the nations of Europe. With this qualification I have always spoken; but, it is the system of rendering *every thing* commercial; of making merchants and bankers into Lords; of making a set of fund-dealers the distributors of honours and rewards in the army and the navy; of the government, in its several departments, making official reports to Lords Mayor and Lloyd’s Coffee-House; of a system, in short, which, day by day, is drawing every thing, in the way of influence, from every part of the country, and depositing it in the hands of those, who necessarily become tools in the hands of the minister of the day, *be he who or what he will*. It is the commercial system, thus distended, thus spread over the whole country, thus swallowing up and preventing all the influence of the aristocracy and the church and all the constitutional influence of the crown; it is this system that I reprobate, and that, most assuredly, has nothing to do either in creating or in supporting “that gallant race of men,” by whom the nation has been so long defended, and by whom her glories have been caused to shine forth in every quarter of the world. In what way is the creating or the preserving of this race of men connected with the commercial system, as now extended and perverted? How does gambling in the funds tend to support the navy? England was great; she was powerful upon the sea; she was queen of the ocean; all this was long, very long indeed, before her sons ever heard of *funds*. The *real* merchant, as I have a hundred times observed, is a person to be cherished; his calling is as honourable and as conducive to the good of the country, as

that of the farmer. It is only when his calling is perverted; when his trade becomes, as it must become under a funding system so extended, a species of gambling; when he trusts more to craft than to industry, prudence, and integrity; when he, if he be *lucky*, may become richer than a lord by the speculations of a few days; when his fortune may be made, when the means of bringing five or six members in amongst the *representatives of the people*, may be obtained in consequence of one valuable hint from a minister, or a minister’s favourite. Then it is, that the commercial system becomes dangerous to the liberties of the people and the throne of the king; and then it is, that it becomes an object of my reprobation.—But, to suppose, that the Opposition would set about overthrowing the fund-dealers, because they have been, and are, staunch friends of Mr. Pitt, is to have a very great opinion of their vindictiveness, or a very little one of their discernment and their recollection; for, must they not have perceived, that it is to the minister of the day; not, to this or to that minister, but to the minister of the day; the minister who makes loans and lotteries, and who gives bonuses; the minister who makes contracts for hemp and timber and tents and baggage and slops and corn and wine and brandy, and who expects, perhaps, to be *treated civilly in return*: must not the Opposition have perceived, that it is this sort of minister that the money-lenders and merchants are attached to? And, must they not remember, that the money-lenders and merchants were as much attached to Mr. Addington as to Mr. Pitt? Or, if there was any little falling off in the case of Mr. Addington, might it not be reasonably ascribed to his not having afforded any of those little *accommodations* so judiciously afforded by his predecessor to those excellent persons Messrs. *Boyd and Benfield*? And, if the Opposition, thus perceiving and thus remembering, should harbour any designs hostile to the fund-dealers and the merchants, must they not be actuated by something other than a love of place and emolument?—As to the *way* of lessening, or of removing, if possible, the enormous evils attendant upon the funds, I know, as I have frequently said, nothing of the sentiments of any one member of the Opposition; no, not even by hear-say; and, being fully persuaded, that the whole nation will think with me at last, I am by no means anxious to hear their opinions. *My own* I shall freely state, as often as it appears proper and is convenient. In the next number but one I intend to do this somewhat at

large; and, in the mean time, I beg leave to refer the reader to a letter, which he will find in a subsequent page, and to which letter I propose to give an answer. I will just now observe, however, not by way of answer to the *Courier*, whose paragraphs I only introduce as convenient openings to my remarks (and very convenient and useful they are in that respect), but by way of remonstrance to those, who seem to think me rash, upon this subject, and *unaware of the consequences* of the measures I have sometimes alluded to as necessary; and, I must say, that before such an opinion be expressed, something should be done, in the way of *argument*, to convince me of the erroneousness of the premises whence my conclusions have been drawn. This has been attempted by my correspondent; and, if I am not convinced by him, I shall, I trust, be able to shew that my want of conviction is founded on reason; and, at any rate, the reader will have an opportunity of deciding between us; but, to the conduct of those who bestow the term *rashness* upon my opinions, without giving me any, even the least, proof, that they have themselves ever taken the trouble to *think* upon the subject, I cannot bring myself to affix any epithet milder than that of presumptuous. I mean not this for the Huskissons and the Cannings and the Old Roses and the Wards: I mean it not for the men of the Two Bulletins; but for men whose opinions I respect, but whom I cannot permit to censure my opinions, unless they condescend to favour me with the reasons whereon that censure is founded.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—As was naturally to be expected, the calamities upon the Continent have produced upon the men of the Two Bulletins an apprehension for nothing but their places; and, of course, all their endeavours, in all manner of ways, are bent towards the preservation of them. One of their efforts is directed towards bringing men's minds back to the political and parliamentary divisions of the last war, to revive the party animosities, the popular prejudices and passions, and, if it may, by any means, be possible, the party divisions, of those days, particularly with regard to the French revolution, and (as if the dangerous principles of that revolution were still afloat) with regard to peace with France. Amongst the attempts of this sort I shall select one only; but, upon that, when I have inserted it, I shall have to beseech the reader's attention to a few observations.—“We cannot see, therefore, in what way it can be maintained, that the disasters and dangers in which the Continent unhappily is in-

volved, are imputable to this country. “Those disasters are all to be attributed to one event; the imbecility or treachery that led to the destruction of that fine army which was placed under the command of General Mack;—an event in which Mr. Pitt could have had no concern. “‘But if we must fight the French single-handed,’ say the Opposition writers, ‘must it be under those leaders whom the French have beaten?’ They would give us Mr. Fox, we suppose, for a leader; and how would he enable us to fight France single-handed? He has no jealousy of Buonaparté; thinks him a harmless man, who had no views against this country, but those of innocent commercial *rivalité*. “In the character of a minister who is to conduct a war against France, it has been supposed that some degree of jealousy and suspicion of the designs of that power were necessary, but here the Opposition would give us, to conduct the war against Buonaparté, a man who, if he be not the admirer of Buonaparté, is at least not prepared to view him with that jealousy, distrust, and hatred, which ought deeply and invariably to influence the feelings of every man in the country. The nation, thank God! is not reduced to such a state of humiliation as to render it necessary for it to look for its security and salvation to the friends of O'Connor.”—As to the first part of this paragraph, there is nothing to be done, except merely to repeat, what we have said before, and of the truth of which the country is unanimously persuaded; namely, that our ministry were the great cause of the calamities upon the Continent, because they urged and precipitated Austria into the war, in spite of advice, founded upon clearly expressed reasons, to the contrary. But, this repetition is, in fact, useless; because, with those who think the present minister and his young friends capable of conducting the nation through the perils that await her, no argument in favour of a change need be urged. With those who do think a change necessary, a speedy change of councils absolutely necessary, in order to give the country a chance of preserving its independence; with those, very little, I should think, would be required to show the fallacy, the hypocrisy, and, when compared with what the same writer has so recently maintained, the profligate inconsistency, of the remaining part of the paragraph.—“The friends of O'Connor.” Now, supposing us all, on both sides, still to retain, in their utmost extent, all the opinions, which we entertained during the

whole of the revolution, and, until the hour, and after the conclusion, of the Peace of Amiens; supposing us all to retain those our opinions (except Mr. Pitt, indeed; who, has shifted, and is allowed to shift, his backward and forward as circumstances may require), what ground would that be for an objection to Mr. Fox? I mean amongst us, who so widely differed from him, and by whom his opinions and his conduct were so unqualifiedly censured? The *personalities* must be buried in oblivion. We have, in this way, so much to atone for, on both sides, that I must always protest against their being brought to a balance of accounts. I will, for my part, never retract one single word; and, if I ask no one to retract with respect to me, I think, I may rest satisfied of a clear conscience. If the French revolution were to return, we should, I am persuaded, stand, with respect to each other, just as we did before; with this exception only, that those, who, like me, were induced to give our support to the destructive power of Mr. Pitt, would not again be so induced. But, can this state of things *return*? Are not the circumstances changed? Are they not *all* changed? Instead of a wild democracy in France, is there not a perfect military despotism in that country? Instead of being all upon the alert for the rights of man, in England; instead of clubs and societies for the propagation of principles of liberty, is not the nation, as to matters of that kind, as silent as the grave? Is there? I appeal to the common sense of the reader: is there *now* danger to be apprehended from councils impregnated, nay, howsoever deeply impregnated, with the doctrines of liberty? And, is there one man, who will still call himself an Englishman, and who, while despotism is insolently staring us in the face; while the question is, whether we shall become slaves or not; while this is the question before us, is there any such man, who can seriously fear, that we have danger to apprehend from councils which have a strong, and, if you will, a too powerful, bias, towards the side of liberty?—But, “*jealousy and suspicion*” of the designs of France are, we are told, necessary, in a leader, at the present time. Jealousy and suspicion are the inmates of weak, of mean, and of cowardly minds; and, if they alone were sufficient in a political leader, there are few persons, I am persuaded, who would think, a change of ministry necessary. But, these excellent qualities are not all that are wanted in a ministry of a great state, at any time; and, at this time, we want them not at all, there being not one person in Eng-

land; no, not an underwriter, with his black short pen stuck behind his ear, nor an underwriter's wife “in the family-way” pressing forward to touch the wonder-working minister, nor even a “young friend” with his imitative nasal croak and grin of conscious impunity; there is not one even of this race of beings, who stands in need of suspicion and jealousy wherewith to meet the designs of Napoleon, who has proclaimed those designs from one end of the world to the other, and who has given us a proof of his sincerity in his terror-striking preparations at Boulogne.—Never did Mr. Fox say, that Buonaparté was “a harmless man;” never did he say, that he apprehended nothing from the increase of French power: but, over and over again, has he, in the most explicit manner, declared the direct contrary; and, as to the *personal hatred* of Buonaparté, how long is it, to you who hear me I put the question, how long is it, since these very writers, taking their tone from Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Pitt, reprobated the perpetuating of animosity against this same Buonaparté, and applauded the prosecution of Mr. Peltier for having made endeavours to the contrary, which prosecution they themselves recommended?—But, whence this new-light as to the *unfitness* of Mr. Fox for the task of opposing France? Reader, need I recall to your mind the memorable occurrences of the spring of 1804? Need I remind you, that, at that time, when it was the anxious wish of the whole nation to see formed such an administration as would inspire confidence at home and respect abroad, at the same time that it put an end, for ever, to the political animosities engendered during the French revolution and its attendant war; need I remind him, that, at that time, when the hopes of this loyal and suffering and patient people were again blasted by low intrigue and by ambition still lower; need I remind him, that at that time, these very writers, who are now endeavouring to excite doubts as to the cabinet-worthiness of Mr. Fox, first most distinctly reprobated the formation of any ministry, of which he should not form a part; and, afterwards, defended the conduct of Mr. Pitt, by the assertion, that that gentleman spent three quarters of an hour in an useless effort to persuade the King, to admit Mr. Fox into his councils; and, that, in a still later stage of the intrigue, and as a further means of defence, they asserted, that Mr. Fox had received an offer from the minister to go as a general negotiator, with unlimited powers, to France and to all the courts of the Continent, la-

menting, at the same time, deeply *lamenting*, that he could not be prevailed upon to accept of the offer? Need I remind the reader of these things; and need I, then, call for his detestation upon the head of these versatile hirelings?

Botley, Thursday, }
9th Jan. 1806. }

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

[The reader will recollect, that I have frequently asked the question; whether, supposing us to be obliged to continue paying the interest upon the national debt, it be *possible* for us to carry on the war for five or six years longer? He will recollect, that I have invited those who differ from me upon this important point, to state the reasons whereon that difference is founded. This invitation has been accepted of by a correspondent, whose letter I here insert, and to which letter I beg leave to solicit the attention of my readers. That it may have a fair chance of producing all the effect that it is calculated to produce, I shall leave it for one week; nay, for two weeks, without an attempt to answer it. In the Register after the next, I shall offer some remarks upon it; and, in the meanwhile, I shall content myself with requesting it to be observed, that, as to the *evils* of the Funding System, *such as it now is and is becoming*, my correspondent perfectly agrees with me. He admits, that the national debt is likely to go on accumulating, unless some effectual measure be adopted to prevent it; and, he, of course, admits, that Mr. Pitt's schemes, for that purpose, are not effectual. He admits, that a farther great accumulation (suppose of another hundred millions) would be an intolerable evil. He admits, that the debt, "in its present magnitude, goes far towards cramping public spirit, enervating patriotism, and deadening the love of our country; for, that, if taxes upon taxes not only abridge, but annihilate, the comforts of the people, they cannot fail to extinguish virtuous independence; that the public mind is thereby fettered and enfeebled; that patriotism evaporates, and gives place to dependence and degradation." —These admissions are manly. They discover a love of truth. They form a basis whereon to reason. They express a decided opinion, that *something* is absolutely necessary to be done; that *some change* must take place in the Funding System, and that right speedily; and, it only remains for us to inquire, whether the change, which I think necessary, be necessary and justifiable; and whether the change, which this gentleman proposes, would be effectual;

or, rather, whether the change proposed by him would, upon the whole, be preferable to the change proposed by me; or, more properly speaking, the change which I regard as absolutely necessary to the salvation of the country.]

SIR,—I read your Political Register with much satisfaction. I admire the masterly manner in which you discuss the vast variety of subjects which you bring forward, and I am astonished at the stretch of mental exertion which enables you to pursue the same train of thought with so much energy and ardour. But, Sir, there is one subject occasionally introduced into your work, and treated by you as if your sentiments with regard to it were matured, which leads me, in common with many of your admirers, to regret that you cannot be supposed to have the time at command which should enable you to devote to it the attention which its magnitude, its incalculable importance, imperiously demands. I mean that of the National Debt.—For a considerable time, Sir, I read the hints which you casually threw out on this subject merely as matters of speculation. Many valuable men, men possessed of transcendent talents, have been notorious for riding their *hobbies*; and I had no objection to Mr. Cobbett's trotting his. But, Sir, your work is one of no common merit; it finds its way to every corner of the British Empire, and it must necessarily produce great effects on the public mind. I therefore, Sir, would solemnly put the question to your feelings, to your principles, to your honour. Do you seriously mean to recommend to Britons to cancel their public debts by the application of a national sponge? Do you really mean to argue, that a British Parliament should enact, or that a British Public should sanction, a measure which, if acted in private life, would expose the most hardy individual of that public to the lash of British law, as well as to merited reproach and indignation? Surely, Mr. Cobbett, you are not fully aware that the measures which you appear (for I will yet, only say appear) to recommend, is one of the most awfully important that can possibly be suggested. I say awfully important, because of the principles in which it originates, and because of the tremendous effects which would necessarily result from it. —With regard to the principles in which it has its origin, I do not hesitate to affirm that they are intimately connected with those of the rankest democracy; that they are scions which spring from the poisonous roots of the infamously misnamed tree of liberty: for, Sir, what is a democratic revolution? What is the

French revolution but a revolution of property? The multitude seized by force the property of the few, and by force they retain it. Can it be denied that the measure of laying hold of our national funds is of this description? A holds in his hands the property of B; but, instead of making any effort to pay him, he tells him, "I will not give you principal or interest, and because you are poor while I am powerful I set you at defiance: go, beg your bread." If such a doctrine be not of the essence, the very kernel, of democracy, I know not what it is; for, if you deprive me *brevi manu* of one part of my property, a part of it, too, which I trusted to your honour and your integrity, what security can I have against your farther encroachments, against your noonday robbery or your midnight plunder?—I therefore enter my solemn protest against this doctrine, because I conceive that its advocates do much towards planting the roots of revolution. It is a doctrine which breaks down the mound of national virtue, and by so doing, permits the ingress of the demon of democracy, and of principles which will not and cannot be bridled until they spread far and wide the scourge of ruin and desolation. The measure in question is one against which I protest, because of the awful effects which would necessarily flow from it. Give me leave, Sir, to solicit your indulgence, while I very briefly state my reasons for thinking that it would be barbarous and cruel, unjust and dishonourable, unwise and impolitic; and, I will venture to add, unexpedient and unnecessary.—It would be a barbarous and cruel measure; for, I would ask, who would be the sufferers in the first instance? It will be answered; a few hundred rich Jews! Supposing this to be the fact; upon what principle can an attack on their wealth be justified? That because a man is rich, he should be pointed out as the object of public indignation is a doctrine which may suit the other side of the streights of Dover, but it is one which will, I trust, never debase the heart of a Briton.—But, Sir, I aver, that the sufferers in the first instance would be among the middling ranks of life. Many who are not possessed of money enough to enable them to purchase land are glad to invest their little all in the public Funds and on the faith of British honour: others who are anxious to withdraw a part of their capital from the chances of commerce conceive that there is here a place of safety wherein to deposit it. Some are desirous to set apart the produce of their industry, so as to leave numerous families unsubjected to the inconveniencies which attend

the division of heritable property: these also become stock-holders. There are multitudes who cannot embark in commercial pursuits; and not a few, such as Clergymen, &c. who are incapacitated by law for exercising their talents for business. These are the national creditors. Your Angersteins, and Barings, and Goldsmids might suffer, but their sufferings would be comparatively trivial. They have property elsewhere, and a thousand other sources would be open to their talents and industry; but I repeat, that the load would fall with insupportable weight on those classes of the community, who would be most helpless and destitute. The widow, the fatherless, and the orphan, would sink under its pressure into the vale of misery, calling for the vengeance of Heaven, on the barbarous authors of their misfortunes and ruin.—But I have farther called the measure in question, unjust and dishonourable. It would stain the annals of our age and country, with an everlasting stigma. What, Sir! shall the names of Britons be handed down to posterity, with a tarnished, a polluted character! What! while British credit is yet unimpaired, while an immense British capital, (a capital which I venture to pronounce, little short of two thousand millions sterling, is still untouched, shall it be said by our children's children, that we had treacherously betrayed and ruined those of our fellow-subjects, who trusted their all to our honour, that though able to liquidate our debts, we would not make the attempt; but that we resolved to riot in luxurious indulgence, while with hearts, steeled against every benevolent feeling, we beheld thousands and tens of thousands of our countrymen, who had hitherto known ease and independence, reduced by our baseness to wretchedness and despair. Forbid it honour! forbid it every principle that is dear to the virtuous mind! Who, Sir, can be so base, as not to venerate the character of the Monarch who immediately after a battle, which was fatal to his army, and to his prospects, thus addressed his Queen, in a short but dignified epistle: "We have lost all but our honour." He retained a gem infinitely more splendid than any in his crown. It is a gem which I trust will ever be dear to a free-born British heart.—But I have farther called the measure which I deprecate, unwise and impolitic: unwise, because it would completely defeat the end which on a superficial view, it seems calculated to produce. The great end which the advocates for this summary method of extinguishing our national debt profess to have in view is, that thus they would at once annihilate

our public burdens; thus would they at once cancel an annual payment of 25 millions sterling. Admirable calculators! But will these gentlemen take the trouble of reflecting, what would be the effect of extinguishing 25 millions from the annual circulating capital of this country! Of this country, did I say! the expression is too feeble. I will adopt a more suitable one, and affirm that this act would overthrow, from its very foundation, a fabric which would bury under its ruins the commerce and the wealth of the world.—Is there, Mr. Cobbett, among your readers, a single individual who has not heard repeatedly of the widely-extended distress, which has, often followed the failure of a single commercial house? Suppose you were enabled to announce at Lloyd's, that Coutts, and Co. and Smith, Payne, and Co. had just stopped payment, you would most indubitably announce, what would create infinite distress in the metropolis: nay, the stock would probably extend to the ends of the empire. But, compared to the crash which the measure in question would produce, these would be but as the dust of the balance. Instead, therefore, of the supposed effect of annihilating our burdens, this plan would unquestionably render them intolerably oppressive. We should have to make bricks without straw; to raise taxes, and furnish supplies from the midst of bankruptcy and ruin. Hence it would follow, that to pay our army and navy, and to defray the expenses of government would prove a task infinitely more arduous than it has ever yet been; a task, Sir, which it would be absolutely impossible to accomplish.—And after all *cui bono*? It will be answered, and will escape the shock; for, landholders have a solid property. A solid property! Yes; and so have landholders in Upper Canada, where the fee simple of 1000 acres can be purchased for £50. What is land, Sir, without farmer, or skill, or capital; wherewith to cultivate or enrich it? And how shall wealthy landholders or opulent farmers exist, if our great cities, instead of furnishing ready markets for produce, should only pour forth upon them a hungry bankrupt beggared population, who, like locusts, should devour the fruits of the earth? I have already said that the middling classes of the community would suffer in the first instance: but, to suppose that the ruin would extend only to one class; nay, that every rank and every station would not ultimately feel its awful effects, would argue (at least in my humble apprehension) an incurable degree of folly.—The measure in question would further be impolitic in the extreme, because its immediate effect would

be to cut the sinews of war and to lay us low at the mercy of the modern Polyphemus, who has already swallowed the greater portion of the christian world. Permit me to illustrate the former and this idea by a similitude.—Suppose yourself, Mr. Cobbett, on board of one of our first-rate men of war, while a dreadful hurricane threatened it with destruction. Suppose, that the violence of the storm causes the ship to heel; what would you think of the experience of the crew who would rush with precipitation to the lee side; and, with the view of lightening the ship, should cast into the sea guns, water-casks, and ballast from *that side only*? Would not the immediate consequence be, that if a prudent commander did not interfere in time, the vessel would instantaneously fall to the other side and with a fearful yaw sink into the deep? Or, suppose that the crew (instead of casting away useless lumber and cautiously stowing her ballast) should cast *all* her guns, shot, and powder overboard.—Why thus, Sir, the vessel and her sapient sailors might weather the storm, they might exist; but no longer would this existence be that of a British man of war. As an useless hulk would she float on the ocean the prey and the scorn of any petty privateer. Precisely thus, Sir, would it happen to an isle that has hitherto lifted up its head in the ocean as the wonder and the envy of the world. Let us but once indulge the folly of attempting to lighten the British oak by casting her incumbrances from *one side*: or, without metaphor, let us but attempt to prop one half of the community on the ruin of the other half—still we might exist. Without capital, commerce, or credit; without ability to borrow a single guinea on the faith of our departed honour, we might, as a province of France, and at the mercy of a despot, contrive to carry our chains; but our proud pre-eminence would be gone for ever, and we should sink among the nations unpitied, execrated as slaves who were unworthy of the blessings which they enjoyed.—But, Sir, I have farther ventured to call the measure in question one which is inexpedient and unnecessary. And this I do the more readily in consequence of the invitation which you held out to your readers in your 13th No. vol. 8, p. 490, now before me. There you “invite those who differ from you in opinion to shew how we are to maintain a war for 6 or 7 years longer, and at the same time continue to pay the interest of the national debt, which debt must be increased to six or seven hundred millions before the end of that time” —That the national debt is likely to accu-

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mulate, if no effectual measure is adopted to prevent it, I admit; that its accumulation to the extent which you mention, would be a most intolerable evil I also admit: nay, farther, I am as much disposed as any man can be to allow that its magnitude already goes far towards cramping public spirit, enervating patriotism, and paralysing the love of our country. For, if taxes upon taxes not only abridge but annihilate the comforts of the people, they cannot fail to extinguish honorable and virtuous independence; the public mind is fettered and enfeebled, patriotism evaporates and gives place to dependence and degradation.—But, Sir, I would address my countrymen and say, far be from your minds the feelings of despondency or despair; I would say—rouse from your lethargy and from your fears; ye are able to cancel your debts in the manner that will afford you the consciousness of having acted honorably: ye have yet in your power to direct toward your country the eyes of Europe to behold her sons united in the noble resolution of maintaining unsullied integrity. I would say to my countrymen, pay your debts like honest men who would part with their last guinea rather than forfeit honor. Or if it is found impracticable to pay your debts; at least let the attempt be made with unanimity let an effort be made that shall be worthy of the British character, and then, if there is a deficit, *let it fall as it ought to do, equally on all.*—But, Mr. Cobbett, it is not necessary to call for the last guinea. I do not hesitate to express my belief that one tenth of the national capital, that is, of the capitals of every individual, rich and poor, throughout the kingdom, if applied in the purchase of stock at par, would completely extinguish one full half of our present debt. I say at *par*; because, if the national creditors are paid thus, they have no right to complain of injustice. Those of them who have purchased below par would be benefited; such as have paid a higher price have so far been speculators and have no title to insist for remuneration.—I have already expressed my opinion, that the capital of this kingdom is little short of two thousand millions sterling; and I argue as follows: The Chancellor of the Exchequer has informed us, that the rent of land is above thirty-two millions per annum: value this at 25 years purchase, and you have eight hundred millions. Add the amount of the national debt; because, in a great national measure, there is nothing unfair in calling on the public creditor to contribute his share; my wish would only be to shield him from robbery, not to screen him from his full proportion

of the burdens of his country. Thus you have, suppose four hundred millions more, in all, twelve hundred millions. Look around you then, Sir, and consider the value of the houses, plate, jewels, mines, manufactures stock in trade, ships, horses, cattle, sheep, carriages. Do I exaggerate when I venture to call our capital little short of two thousand millions?—One-tenth of this sum applied in purchasing stock at par, would extinguish *above three hundred and thirty millions of that stock!!*—Need I, Sir, expatiate on the amazing advantages which would necessarily result from such a measure as this? I could address the most selfish individual in Britain, the sordid being, whose heart never felt the *amor patriæ*; and even, to such a person, I think I could demonstrate that this measure would advance his interest, would consolidate and secure his property, and, in fact, would most essentially advance his pecuniary advantage. While this measure would *leave our capital equally productive of revenue as heretofore*, it would at once give us the command little short of twenty millions sterling per annum, because a decrease of ten millions of annual expense, would, in fact, prove equal to a two-fold increase of income. Thus would we be able to carry on war in *infinitum*; without the necessity of levying a single additional tax; or, in other words, we should be able to pay the expense of any war in which we could engage from our current revenue and without borrowing an additional shilling.—While the odious measure which I reprobate, would not only destroy at once four or five hundred millions of our capital, but would also infallibly involve in ruin our manufactures; our commerce, and our wealth of every description, that which I propose, would *arrest for ever* the progress of taxation, would unload and unfetter our commerce, would place our credit on an immoveable basis, would convince our enemies that our resources are not to be exhausted, and, above all, would preserve our national honour and glory unstigmatized and unimpaired. The former measure would call into action some of the worst and most malignant passions in the human heart; the latter would rouse and invigorate some of its most virtuous propensities. *That* would debase and degrade; *this* would dignify and exalt the British character.—But, here, it will very naturally be asked, how is it possible to accomplish a measure of such gigantic magnitude? while, in passing, I must express my surprise, that the highly respectable prelate, the Bishop of Llandaff, has hitherto said nothing to illustrate his ideas

on this subject, or to shew how his proposition could be reduced to practice, I will briefly state, that in my apprehension, this is by no means, the arduous or formidable task that it may appear to be on a cursory view of it.—1st. Two commissioners, of known independence and integrity, to be appointed for each county in the kingdom or for each district, comprehending, suppose, three or four counties; and having authority to call the assistance of the magistrates, clergymen, and others, of summoning juries (where necessary) to value any subject, and of examining parties on oath, might in less than six months, ascertain the whole property throughout Great Britain.—This I should propose to do with the strictest accuracy: let no risk arising from the exposure of property; let no evasion or subterfuge of any description, be admissible; let the ability of every one of Britain's sons to contribute to the salvation of his country be clearly and distinctly specified and marked in the books of the commissioners; of which a duplicate for each county should be deposited in the hands of the sheriff or chief magistrate.—2dly. Whenever this preliminary step is taken, let a tenth part of the property of each individual be declared a debt to his country; and, of course, a debt preferable to any other he may contract thereafter, until it is completely liquidated by such instalments as may be determined on.—3dly. Where this tenth does not exceed £100, let it be paid in the course of the year to the collector of the district, just as the assessed taxes are now paid. This would subject very few individuals to any hardship; because where a man's property is thus limited it is generally moveable and tangible. It is placed, for instance, in a banker's hands, in the funds, or it is lent to some landholder at 5 per cent. interest. In the two former cases, the mode of procedure is obvious. In the latter case, the commissioners for the district could be authorized to discharge the amount of the assessment and place it at once to the debt of the landholder. Thus, A. has an estate worth 25000l., but he owes the contents of five bonds value 1000l. each; where can be the difficulty of discharging the tenth of each of these bonds and taxing the estate of A. with the whole debt to the country? By this plan, A. becomes the debtor of his former creditors, only for £4,500 while he becomes debtor to his country for the full proportion arising from his property, say £2500.—4th. Where the tenth exceeds £100, or, in other words, where the value of a property exceeds £1000, let the proprietors in every county to this extent and

upwards, be formed into a kind of corporate body, who shall be conjunctly responsible for the quantum of tax which may affect their properties; and let a quorum of their number, chosen by themselves, keep an account current with the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, to whom they should have to remit the amount of charge against the county in such sums, and at such times, as might be most convenient for themselves, with regular interest half yearly until payment is made: but with an express proviso that *the whole must be paid in a given time*, suppose ten years.* — This would completely obviate the strongest objections, which I ever heard started to the plan of paying the national debt; which was, "that it would bring such an extent of land into the market at once, that it would be completely depreciated." For this, there would, thus, be no necessity. A proprietor would manage ill indeed who could not in less than ten years procure cash sufficient to pay all incumbrances. In very few instances would a sale of land become necessary; and it is evident, that thousands of the present stock-holders, who would be paid off, would rejoice at having opportunities of granting loans of cash in a manner so completely secure and unexceptionable.—Indeed, so perfectly satisfactory would this county security be, that I can conceive no valid objection to some such measure as that of an immediate transfer of the claims of the national creditors, to the different counties, and instead of calling them consols, reduced, long annuities, &c. I would call them Cumberland stock, Northumberland stock, Yorkshire stock and so on; making each of them transferable and redeemable at pleasure. In this or some such manner, Sir, the pecuniary concerns of the landed and monied interests throughout the kingdom would be blended so gradually, and almost imperceptibly, that even from mere selfishness, if no nobler principle should animate them, they would become mutual and powerful supports.—By

* Some proprietors who have the command of cash may be able to pay their proportions at once. Let them be permitted to do so, and get their discharges from the county managers. Their concerns with the county is then ended, excepting in as far as they are guarantees for the other proprietors, but in this guarantee there is not a possibility of risk, because it is possessed by its value tenfold, while at the same time it simplifies the business infinitely more than if the commissioners had to correspond with each proprietor.

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the mode of cancelling the national debt which I have reprobated, every ruined stock holder, if he does not (through jealousy and a sense of the wrongs done him) become the direct enemy of the land holder, he at least has no interest in supporting his rights against revolutionary encroachments.—By this plan, on the contrary, they are linked in the same bond, and the one has an evident stake to urge his exertions for the protection and security of the other.—Thus, Sir, have I attempted to give you the outline of a plan for the redemption of the national debt, which may be characterised in a few words. It is a plan for the advance of an adequate war fund, while war may be necessary, for the advance of a premium of insurance against future taxations; and it is a proposal to deposit the purchase money for the redemption and annihilation of ten millions of taxes whenever our country shall be blessed by the restoration of a solid peace. That objections cannot be started to this measure, I by no means pretend to say, the sordid spirit of old Gripus would immediately be alarmed.—“My fortune, my fortune, my estate, my estate”!!—But, Gripus, thou art a wise man! I would ask thee to look at the picture which is exhibited by Mr. Cobbett in his 23d No. page 880 vol. 8; and, on comparing it with that which I have delineated to make thy choice; I would farther ask thee, where are the fortunes of the French landholders, under the old regime? *Sat verbum sapienti.* The fact, however, would assuredly turn out to be, that in a very few years every inconvenience that could possibly arise from this measure would vanish as if they never had existed.—But, Mr. Cobbett, I presume too much on your patience. Happy would I be, could I observe your own very brilliant talents engaged in recommending the above measure to our countrymen. I have spoken to many of them on the subject, and I have never yet seen one man capable of arguing who did not acquiesce in its propriety. Your work is addressed to, and is indeed peculiarly calculated for the thinking part of the community; and I have not a doubt that the serious application of your abilities, in pressing this measure on the public mind, would soon enable you to say with truth “*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*” At all events, if your insertion of what I have written proves the means of leading men of talent to a discussion of the subject, I confidently indulge the hope that much good would result. To some few of your readers the whole may be rendered more intelligible by the narration of a short family history with

which I beg to conclude: there lives in this country, a worthy respectable knight, whose name is Sir John Bull, Bart. He has a numerous offspring, whom it has been his constant aim to educate in the best possible manner; for his eldest son he purchased an estate in Yorkshire; his second son was brought up to the bar, and is now one of its brightest ornaments; the third is a merchant, and he has acquired honourable opulence; the fourth went to India and advanced the honour of his country in the civil service at Madras; two other sons are in the army and navy; and by their abilities and spirit, defend and support their country.—But the expense attending the education of his children, and, the advancement of their views seriously affected the worthy baronet's fortune, and, to add to his embarrassment, it was his misfortune to march with two most troublesome neighbours, one of them, remarkable for duplicity and bad faith, and by the honest peasantry called Monsieur Tyger; the other was a pompous irascible fellow who was readily led into Mons. Tyger's plans, and known by the name of Don Ignatio de Castile. These neighbours forced the good knight into frequent and expensive law-suits, so that in self defence, and with the view of protecting the inheritance conveyed by the family charters, his income was much involved; thus situated, he called his children together, and explained to them, how matters stood, nor did he so in vain, the generous spirit of the Bull family ran in their veins, and having compared fortunes, they all united in proportion to their ability, and paid off every incumbrance which effected the Bull property, so that now, while the Tyger and Castile families are running to perdition, Sir John has resumed his wonted splendour, and his benevolence and hospitality render him a blessing wherever he moves. D. N. Ult. Thule, 26th Dec. 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—Continued from p. 22). Thirty-first Official Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Austerlitz, Dec. 5.—The Emperor left Austerlitz yesterday, and is gone to the advanced posts near Suruchets, where he had fixed his night-guard. The Emperor of Germany arrived soon after, and these two Monarchs had an interview, which lasted two hours. The Emperor of Germany did not conceal on his own part, nor that of the Emperor of Russia, all the contempt which the conduct of England had inspired. ‘They,’ said he, ‘are the merchants who excite the fire of discord upon the Conti-

ment, to secure to themselves the commerce of the world.' These two princes have agreed upon an armistice, and the principal conditions of peace, which will be negotiated and concluded within the course of a few days. The Emperor of Germany also made known to the Emperor, that the Emperor of Russia wished to make a separate peace; and that he would entirely abandon the affairs of England, and no longer maintain any interest in them. The Emperor of Germany several times repeated in the conversation, that there was no doubt that the quarrel with England was just on the part of France. He also demanded a truce for the remains of the Russian army. The Emperor Napoleon gave him to understand, that the Russian army, being surrounded, not a man of them could escape: "but" (added he) "as I wish to oblige the Emperor Alexander, I will suffer the Russians to pass; I will order my own columns to halt; but your Majesty must promise me that the Russian army shall return to Russia and evacuate Germany, Austrian and Prussian Poland." "That (answered the Emperor of Germany) I can assure you is the intention of the Emperor Alexander; besides, in the course of the night, your own officers may convince you of the fact." We are assured, that the Emperor said to the Emperor of Germany, when he was introduced to the station of his night guard. 'I receive you in the only palace I have lived in these two months.' The Emperor of Germany replied, with a smile, 'You have turned it to such good account, that you have reason to be pleased with it.' This, at least, is what is thought to have been heard. The numerous attendants of the two Monarchs were not so far distant, but that they could hear much of their conversation. —The Emperor attended the Emperor of Germany to his carriage, and caused the two Princes of Lichtenstein and General Prince Schwartzemberg, to be introduced to him. He returned afterwards to sleep at Austerlitz. —All the particulars are collecting, to give a fine description of the battle of Austerlitz. A great number of engineers are taking plans of the field of battle. The loss of the Russians was immense; Generals Kutusow and Buxhowden were wounded; ten or twelve generals were killed. Several aides-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, and a great number of officers of distinction, were killed. It was not 120, but 150 pieces of cannon that were taken. The columns of the enemy, which threw themselves into the lakes, were favoured by the ice; but some cannon shot broke it, and two entire columns were totally annihilated at the

beginning of the battle, and during several hours in the night, the Emperor went through the field of battle, and had the wounded removed; a horrible sight, if ever there were one! The Emperor, who was mounted on a very fast horse, passed along with the rapidity of lightning, and nothing was more affecting than to see those brave men recognize him on the field. Some of them forgot their sufferings, and exclaimed, 'is the victory quite certain?' Another said, 'I have been in torture these eight hours, and since the commencement of the battle I have been deserted, but I have done my duty.' Others said, 'You ought to be well satisfied with your soldiers to-day.' —To every wounded soldier the Emperor left a person to take him to the waggons provided for the wounded. It is horrible to mention, that 48 hours after the battle, there were a great number of wounded Russians that could not be dressed. All the French were dressed before night. Instead of 40 stand of colours, at this hour 45 have been brought in, and the remains of many more have been discovered. —Nothing can equal the gaiety of the troops at their posts. Whenever they perceive an officer belonging to the Emperor, they exclaim, 'is the Emperor satisfied with us?' In passing by the 28th of the line, which has a number of the conscripts of Calvados, and the Lower Seine, in it, the Emperor said, 'I hope that the Normans will distinguish themselves to-day!' They answered his expectations; the Normans did distinguish themselves. The Emperor, who knows of what kind of men each regiment consists, said something applicable to each, and this expression came and spoke to the hearts of those to whom it was addressed, and became their rallying word in the midst of the fight. He said to the 57th, 'Remember that, some years ago, I gave you the title of The Terrible.' We should mention the names of all the regiments; there was not one of them which did not perform prodigies of bravery and intrepidity. We might almost say that death became afraid, and fled before our ranks to fall upon those of the enemy. Not a corps made a retrograde movement. The Emperor said, 'I have fought thirty battles like this, but I never saw one where the victory was so decided, and the fate of battle so little balanced.' The foot guards of the Emperor could not engage; they cried through spite, as they absolutely insisted upon doing something. 'Be satisfied' (said the Emperor) 'that you have nothing to do: you are to engage as the reserve; it will be so much the better if there be no occasion for you

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to-day.—Three colonels of the Imperial Russian guard are taken, with the general who commanded it. The hussars of this guard made a charge upon the division of Caffarelli. They lost, in this one charge, 300 men, who remained upon the field of battle. The French cavalry proved their superiority, and behaved nobly. At the end of the battle, the Emperor sent Colonel Dellemagne, with two squadrons of his guards, as partisans, to scour the neighbourhood of the field of battle at discretion, and bring back the runaways. He took many stands of colours, 15 pieces of cannon, and 1,500 prisoners. The guards regret exceedingly Colonel Morland, of the horse-chasseurs, who was killed by a grape shot, as he was charging the artillery of the Imperial Russian guard. This artillery was taken, but the brave colonel was killed. No general was killed on our side. The brave colonel Maaz, of the 14th of the line, was killed. Many commanders of battalions were wounded. The light troops rivalled the grenadiers. The 55th, 43d, 14th, 36th, 40th, 17th; but we dare not particularize any corps; it would be an injustice to the rest. They all did every thing which was possible. There was not an officer, a general, or a soldier, who was not determined to conquer or die.—We must not conceal an incident which does honour to the enemy. The commander of the artillery of the Imperial Russian guard lost his cannon. He met the Emperor: 'Sire,' said he, 'order me to be shot, I have lost my cannon.' 'Young man,' replied the Emperor, 'I esteem your tears, but one may be beaten by my army, and still retain some pretensions to glory?'—Our advanced posts are arrived at Olmutz: the Empress, and all her court, fled from it in haste.—Colonel Corbenau, equerry to the Emperor, commanding the fifth regiment of chasseurs, had four horses killed under him. He was wounded on the fifth horse, after having taken a stand of colours. Prince Murat speaks in high terms of the brilliant manoeuvres of General Kellerman, of the fine charges made by Generals Nansouty and Hautpoul, and, in fact, of all the generals, whom he abstains from naming, because he should name them all.—The soldiers of the train have merited the esteem of the whole army. The artillery did prodigious mischief to the enemy. When a report of it was made to the Emperor, he said, 'This success gives me great pleasure, for I do not forget that it was in this corps I began my military career!'—General Savary, aide-de-camp to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, after the interview between Napoleon and the Emperor of Germany, accompanied the lat-

ter, to know whether the Emperor Alexander would agree to the above-mentioned capitulation, when he found the remains of the Russian army without artillery or baggage, and in the greatest confusion. It was midnight, and the Austrian General Meerfeld had been driven from Goding by Marshal Davoust. The Russian army was inclosed, so that a single man could not escape. Prince Czartorinski introduced General Savary to the Emperor. 'Tell your master,' said this Prince, 'that I shall retire; that yesterday he has performed miracles, and that my astonishment respecting him has increased; that he is some chosen instrument of heaven; and that it will require a century to make my army equal to him. 'But can I withdraw with safety?' Yes, Sire, said General Savary, 'If your Majesty is resolved to accede to the capitulation agreed upon between the Emperors of France and Germany.' 'And what are its contents?' 'That your Majesty's army shall withdraw by the routes prescribed by the Emperor; and that you shall evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland. Upon these conditions I have his Majesty's authority to repair to my nearest advanced posts, which have already surrounded you, and to give them orders to cover your retreat.' The Emperor willing to evince his respect for the friend of the First Consul, then said, 'But what pledge must I give you?' 'Sire, your word.' 'I give it you.' Hereupon the adjutant withdrew, full gallop, to Marshal Davoust, to whom he communicated orders to halt, and put a stop to all the movements of the army, and to remain quiet.—May this act of generosity of the Emperor of the French, be not so soon forgotten in Russia as that noble proceeding of the Emperor, who sent back six thousand men to the Emperor Paul, with so much respect and marks of esteem for him. General Savary conversed an hour with the Emperor of Russia, whom he found to be a man of sense and firmness, notwithstanding the misfortunes which he had met. This Monarch asked him the particulars of the action. 'You,' said he, 'were inferior in numbers to me, and yet you were more numerous at the points of attack.' 'Sire,' replied the general, 'it is the art of war, and the result of fifteen years of glory; it is the fortieth battle the Emperor has fought!' 'That is true, he is a great warrior. As to myself, this is the first time I have seen fire. I never presumed to compare myself with him.' 'Sire, when you have experience, you will, perhaps, excel him.' 'I shall return to my capital. I came to assist the Emperor of Germany; he has sent to inform me that he is satisfied; so am I.'—In his in-

interview with the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor said, 'M. and Madame Colloredo, Messrs. Paget and Raszumowski, are one and the same with your Minister Cobentzel; these are the true causes of the war, and if your Majesty shall continue to give yourself up to those intriguers, you will ruin your affairs and alienate the hearts of your subjects; you, who have so many qualities, deserving to be loved and happy.'—An Austrian major presented himself at the advanced post, bearing dispatches from M. de Cobentzel to M. de Stadion, at Vienna. The Emperor said, 'I will have nothing to do with that man; who has sold himself to England to pay his debts, and who has ruined his master and his country, following the advice of his sister and Madame Colloredo.'—The Emperor has paid particular attention to Prince John of Lichtenstein; he said several times, 'How, when there are men of such high distinction, can one suffer his affairs to be conducted by fools and intriguers?' In fact, Prince Lichtenstein is one of the persons the most distinguished, not only for his military talents, but for his character and information.—It is said, that the Emperor observed, after his conference with the Emperor of Germany: 'This man makes me commit a fault, for I could follow up my victory, and take the whole Russian and Austrian army, but a few tears the less will be shed.'

Thirty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Austerlitz, Dec. 6.—General Friant, at the battle of Austerlitz, had four horses killed under him; Colonels Conroux and Demoustier distinguished themselves. The brave actions are so numerous, that as fast as they are reported to the Emperor, he observes, 'I shall have occasion for all my power to make proper recompence to all those brave men.'—The Russians, when they engage, have a custom of taking off their havre-sacks. As the whole of the Russian army was routed, our soldiers took a great many of these havre-sacks. They also took a great quantity of baggage, and found a great deal of money in it.—General Bertrand, who was detached, after the battle, with a squadron of the guards, picked up a number of prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, and a number of carriages filled with property of various kinds. The number of cannon taken amounts to one hundred and seventy pieces.—The Emperor expressed some dissatisfaction that plenipotentiaries were sent to him on the eve of the battle,

and that the diplomatic character was thus disgraced. This is worthy of M. de Cobentzel, whom the whole nation regards as one of the principal authors of all these calamities.—Prince John of Lichtenstein came to the Emperor, at the Castle of Austerlitz. The Emperor admitted him to a conference which lasted several hours. It is remarked, that the Emperor converses very freely with this general officer. This Prince has concluded with Marshal Berthier, an armistice, of the following tenor.—M. Talleyrand is going to Nicolsburgh, where the negotiations are to be opened.

Thirty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Austerlitz, Dec. 7.—General Buxhouden, and a considerable number of other Russian generals, whose names are not yet known, are killed. The Russian General Kutusow is wounded, and his son-in-law, a young officer of great merit, is dead.—Among the killed there were 18,000 Russians, 600 Austrians, and 900 French. We have taken 7000 wounded Russians, and the French wounded amount to 3000. General Roger Vilhubert died of his wounds. An hour before his death, he wrote to the Emperor: "I wished yet to have done more for you; I must die in the course of an hour. I do not regret dying, as I have shared in a victory which will insure to you a happy reign. When you sometimes remember the names of those brave men who were devoted to you, you will, I trust, also think of me. I yet beg leave to remind you, that I leave a family behind, but to recommend them—I need not."—The Generals Kellerman, Sebastiana, and Thiebaut, are out of danger. The Generals Marisy and Dumont, are wounded, but by no means dangerously.—Names of the Russian generals taken prisoners; Bubienski, Wimpfen, Muller, Zazowski, Berg, Vekechon, Stritzky, Szerkakoff, Prince Repnin, Prince Siberki, Adrian, Laganoff, Sulima, Mezenkoff, Woycikoff.—Besides many more generals who died upon the field of battle, they count among the killed from 4 to 500 officers, among whom there are 20 majors and lieutenant-colonels, and more than 100 captains. The Emperor has sent for Talleyrand at Vienna to come to Brunn. The negotiations are carried on at Nikolsburg. M. Maret has been at Austerlitz, where the Emperor has signed the papers of the ministers and the council. The Emperor will sleep this night at Brunn.